



# Research and Reference Service

OVERSEAS REACTION TO THE CUBAN SITUATION  
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This is a research report, not a statement of Agency policy

*N. Cuba*

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## SUMMARY

With an almost audible sigh of relief, editorial comment has tended to lose its overtones of anxiety and tension and to assume -- with some notable exceptions -- a mood of cautious but hopeful optimism regarding the potential of a negotiated settlement. Although comment has not been too explicit as to the means and terms of a settlement, there has been some emphasis on the possibilities of trading bases. The absence of open conflict and the proposed talks under UN/U Thant auspices apparently have done much to change the mood. The impact that President Kennedy's statement on the necessity of removing the bases in Cuba as a preliminary prerequisite to negotiations with the Soviet Union will have on the current tenor of comment is not yet discernible.

The lessening of tension and the apparent shift of the confrontation into the diplomatic field has led to a substantial optimism regarding the possibilities of a negotiated settlement. This mood was tempered, however, by acknowledgment that many serious obstacles remain in the way to a satisfactory settlement. General support continues to reign in Western European commentaries.

Firm support of the U.S. retains its hold in Latin American comment, but, as in Western Europe, the feeling that war is imminent has declined and possible negotiated solutions to the crisis have been increasing in recent comment.

Far East comment has been found increasing on the need for negotiations to settle the crisis and currently indicates a prevalent belief that the first and most dangerous phase of the crisis has now been passed leaving the way open for the second stage of negotiations. Greatest hopes are pinned on the talks under UN/U Thant auspices. Again the pattern of emphasis on support and criticism remains constant.

Comments from several countries in the Near East and South Asia have expressed relief over the fact that the two major protagonists (U.S. - USSR) have avoided military conflict and have -- along with most other countries in these two areas -- called for settlement through the UN. Most comment has urged an important role for the uncommitted nations. Otherwise, the alignment in terms of supporting or critical comment has remained unchanged.

The only continued source of predominantly critical comment comes from the African press. There has been no discernible change in the points of emphasis in African criticism of U.S. action. Comment, however, does continue to call for the necessity of a negotiated settlement of the crisis.

Soviet media continue to reflect a stalling for time as they keep up their vehement campaign against the U.S. quarantine and any potential U.S. actions against Cuba. Moscow, of course, has placed great emphasis on creating an image of sweet reasonableness in the crisis.

## WESTERN EUROPE

The Cuban crisis continued to be the dominant subject of news and editorial coverage in West European media. The lessening of tension following the evident shift of the conflict into the diplomatic sphere was accompanied by a wait-and-see mood of considerable optimism that negotiations would lead to some solution of the affair. Tempering this optimism, however, was the realization that many problems -- the elimination of bases in Cuba, the Berlin question, US missile bases abroad -- presented serious difficulties in the way of compromise. Virtually unanimous support for the President's actions continued in awareness of the necessity for the West to stand firmly together, but contingent nevertheless on the premise of US willingness to negotiate to avoid war. Commentators credited Kennedy with victory in the first phase of his dramatic confrontation of the USSR and praised his courage and decisive leadership.

West European media reacted with distinct relief and some optimism as to possible negotiations due to the caution shown by the US and the USSR. Thus, the right-center Frankfurter Allgemeine stated: "Both sides have displayed caution and restraint to a degree considered the maximum reconcilable with basic positions. The Americans have seen to it that the blockade -- to which they apply the unusual term of 'quarantine' -- will be directed exclusively against certain weapons... and have directed ships to practice greatest possible caution in carrying out hard orders... The Soviets have so far displayed more restraint than expected. This shows that they do not underestimate Kennedy's determination." The Times, London, felt that "some faint hopes of a way through are beginning to arise," and centrist Il Messaggero, Rome, though considering the situation still grave, noted "new elements" in the diplomatic moves which, it felt, lowered international tension. The pro-Government Neue Presse, Frankfurt, declared that "the Kremlin still seeks an opportunity to deprive the situation of its dynamite." While the Journal de Geneve felt that the submission of the dispute to the UN Security Council showed that "neither the Russians nor the Americans want to die for Cuba," and "that they want to liquidate the matter peacefully."

The many grave problems still confronting any solution, however, were pointed out by a number of papers, with emphasis chiefly on US missile bases abroad, the Russian sites in Cuba and the perennial Berlin question. Some papers considered the issue of US bases in Turkey and the Russian emplacements in Cuba not comparable for, in the contention of a number of editorials, the Soviet bases in Cuba upset the status quo, while by contrast "Turkish and Greek ~~bases~~ preserve it" (left-center Sueddeutsche Zeitung, Munich). The Times, London, remarked "comparisons between the Cuban and Turkish bases are hotly and quite rightly resented by most Americans. The history and the whole context are, indeed, different" but the paper then asserted, "Even so a case can be made for banishing offensive missiles from each base."

Despite all the discussion on Cuba, the chief worry, especially in Germany remained Berlin. The right-center Deutsche Zeitung, Dusseldorf, expressed the sentiment of a number of papers in West Europe when it stated: "Presently Cuba is involved only secondarily. What is actually involved is the problem of drawing a line to communist expansion in both Cuba and Berlin. Therefore Europeans should support the US as loyal NATO partners, because this is in the interest of their own security." The view was held that the President in moving against the Soviets in Cuba was strengthening his position in Berlin. The conservative Corriere della Sera, Milan, held: "The President's objective is not only the liquidation of Soviet missile bases in Cuba but preventing Soviet moves in Berlin. The American move fits within the framework of global strategy."

Support for President Kennedy's actions found increased expression in Britain and continued unabated with some minor divergencies elsewhere in Europe. Liberal The Guardian which earlier in the week had insisted that "a blockade will do America's cause, her friends and her true interest serious harm," headlined its front-page "Britain behind Kennedy -- Sympathy, not criticism." "After such a able-dealing," the paper continued "Mr. Kennedy cannot be expected to place any reliance on Mr. Khrushchev's word." The Labor mass circulation Daily Mirror declared that Kennedy's order was "an example of bold decisive leadership." The conservative Daily Express ranged Britain staunchly and decisively behind the Americans."

Elsewhere, Kennedy was hailed as having won his first direct challenge to the Soviets. Liberal Nouvelle Gazette, Charleroi, expressed for many the view that the only way to stop the dangerous move to the abyss was to do what Kennedy had done and "confront it now with its responsibilities."

The extent of the support from the Latin American nations also was the subject of much comment. "Kennedy has scored a great success by OAS approval of his action thus the struggle with the Soviet Union has become a common cause of the American continent. This in turn will favorably influence developments in the UN." (Deutsche Zeitung) Il Messaggero pointed out that the USSR had been the victim of a miscalculation as far as Latin American was concerned, because "the common threat led to a unanimity of view never reached before."

## LATIN AMERICA

Extensive coverage by all the media continues, in general, to support the US. Unity of action against the common threat is emphasized, and material support offers keep coming. Fear of nuclear war is declining. Opposition is weak. Cuba follows the Moscow line.

Media coverage of the US position regarding the offensive capabilities of Cuba remains extensive. Broad support of the US actions continues. Comments revolve around the idea of the common threat to the Hemisphere and call for united action in facing the menace. The feeling that war is imminent is declining. Some additional material support has been announced. Brazil and some of the other four countries which still have diplomatic relations with Cuba have difficulty in taking firm positions against local opposition. Opposition is scattered and sporadic in other countries. Cuba talks of peace and at the same time is defiant of the US "aggression."

La Nacion of Argentina editorialized that the Communists will change "in the face of a display of courage on the part of the Americas." Correo de la Tarde of Buenos Aires said that "the United States position is our position. Not to stand by the United States and all our brothers of the Americas is to side with Moscow." The evening paper El Plata (Blanco) of Montevideo stated that the situation demands that Uruguay take "a position of clear and close solidarity with the great nation of the North and the nations of [Latin] America which understand their duty and destiny." La Estrella de Panama declared that "the policy of appeasement [in the Americas] has been definitely canceled." El Diario de Hoy of San Salvador stated in an editorial: "President Kennedy recognizes that sometimes history offers only one alternative, and that under such circumstances those who govern as well as the governed must accept the risks of sacrifice." El Universal of Mexico City, in an editorial, pointed out that Cuba's "recent actions represent a concrete danger to American security. There is no other way of interpreting the unusual arms race adopted by Dr. Castro's government." Novedades of Mexico City declared that "in the final analysis the question is confined to dismantling the projectile bases of long range of which President Kennedy assured us he has proof and whose existence Castro has not denied." Prensa Grafica of El Salvador declared in its editorial that "it will fall upon the OAS to take the definitive step in defense of Cuban freedom."

Further material support from Hemisphere nations include the report that the Venezuelan navy has sailed to sea to await orders for action, and that President Betancourt has said that their ports are available to ships maintaining the blockade. President Duvalier has granted the forces in charge of the blockade the facility of Haiti's ports and airports, and has planned to increase surveillance patrols along their coast line. The Ecuadorean navy began active cooperation with the US navy regarding shipping in the Ecuadorean coastal waters. The Dominican Republic has offered a naval unit and port, maritime and air facilities to the American nations which maintain the quarantine.

Among certain of the nations which still maintain diplomatic relations with Cuba, the following reactions have been noted: (1) The Brazilian Government continues to be torn between conflicting pressures. President Joao Goulart, whose only consistent base of popular support lies in the impressionable, semi-literate labor masses, has to contend with their pro-Castro demonstrations and sentiments and, at the same time, with a conservative congressional majority which favors a less equivocal position. On the day that Goulart assured Ambassador Lincoln Gordon that Brazil wants "to collaborate more intensely for the solution of the Cuban crisis," his leftist congressman elect bother-in-law Leonel Brizola addressed a crowd of 3,000 students and laborers at a pro-Castro rally. (2) In both Chile and Uruguay the governments are moving toward stiffer solidarity with the US and OAS positions despite similar popular pressures and sizeable demonstrations which, however, have been readily controlled by police and other security forces. In Uruguay the US position is getting "bi-partisan" support with both Blanco and Colorado press organs giving strong endorsement to President Kennedy.

Opposition activities in addition to the above demonstrations include: a planned boycott by the Communist-dominated port workers union of Brazil against handling any US shipping; a declaration by the Christian Democratic Party of Chile against US-OAS actions; disturbances created by university and secondary students in the Dominican Republic under pro-Communist leadership; a manifesto which appeared on the campus of the National University of Mexico which criticized the naval blockade of Cuba as a unilateral violation of international law; and at the same university a handbill appeared which stated that "the military blockade of Cuba, created by North American imperialism, is a situation which puts the world on the brink of war."

As the Cuban controversy approaches a possible negotiation state, various commentators are referring to the Chinese-Indian border action. This was cited by the Chilean Catholic newspaper



El Diario Ilustrado as proof that vacillation in the face of a Soviet threat is suicidal. It said that "the experience of Nehru appears in this sense providentially eloquent." In this same vein, influential Uruguayan La Mañana pointed out that "right now, in the face of the growing aggression of Communist China, the USSR is giving its principal Asian vassal a free hand despite its protestations of peace and amity toward New Delhi." Excelsior of Mexico City declared that "while in America the Communists scream about the blockade of Cuba they say nothing of the invasion by Red China of India and its peaceful people."

Cuban media, while still calling for a peaceful solution, cry out in defiance of US power. No mention is made of the material support the other Latin American nations have offered the US. In their continued attempt to direct world opinion against US actions, Havana's Prensa Latina reported that the Cuban labor confederation had sent "an urgent message to organizations of the world appealing to the working class and the peoples of those countries to mobilize in an energetic protest which will paralyze and cause the criminal plans of Yankee imperialism to be withdrawn." The theme of peace was also continued by Havana's English-language radio program, Friendly Voice of Cuba, which said in part: "The way to peace is through complete and general disarmament by all nations. This is what Cuba stands for and she would be willing to turn all her weapons,..., into ploughshares."

## FAR EAST

Heavy straight news coverage and moderate editorial reaction now are focused on negotiations to ease the crisis. Comment indicates the belief that the crisis is entering a second stage, the first and most dangerous one being past. Pressure is beginning to build up for some form of negotiation to further ease the situation. Greatest hopes are placed on talks under UN/U Thant auspices, while some speak vaguely of efforts under neutral nations' patronage. Criticism and support of the U.S. fall into previously indicated patterns; i.e. harsh left-wing Indonesian criticism, ambivalent critiques from Japan and Malaya, and steady support from Far East allies of the West.

### Coverage

Straight news coverage of the situation continues at a heavy pace, focusing attention on the intercepted Soviet tanker and U Thant's mediation efforts. Editorial comment remains at a moderate level, with stress given to the forms of negotiation that could further alleviate the crisis. Media reaction is still lacking from Cambodia.

### Negotiation Pressure

The tenor of most comment clearly indicates the feeling that the first stage of the crisis has passed and that the possibilities of the situation deteriorating into a nuclear conflict have been greatly reduced. Pressure is building-up, however, for some form of negotiation that will lead to a peaceful solution of the crisis. Singapore's Chinese-language press pleaded for the United States and the Soviet Union to accept the good offices of the non-aligned nations, while nationalist Berita Harian of Kuala Lumpur opined that "...neutral nations should continue in their efforts to settle not only the Cuban crisis but also any other crisis which might arise".

The greatest degree of attention was focused on a potential settlement of the crisis by means of negotiations under the auspices

of the UN and/or U Thant. Left-leaning Nanyang Siang Pao of Singapore thus gave its support for the 40-nation request that U Thant mediate the crisis, while the pro-West Malayan Times of Kuala Lumpur voiced the hope that U Thant's "...fervent appeal to Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Khrushchev will produce something more tangible than a mere bid to buy time". A similar attitude was indicated by Japanese media comment, the influential Straits Times of Kuala Lumpur, and the Deputy Prime Minister of Thailand, who disclosed that his country had used its influence to urge U Thant to work for a compromise between the United States and the Soviet Union.

### Criticism

The focusing of attention on negotiated means of ending the crisis has overshadowed the issue of whether or not the U.S. was justified in its actions. Criticism and support of the Administration's policy thus continues to fall into the pattern previously indicated; i.e. outright attacks against the U.S. by the left-wing press of Indonesia, moderate criticism -- balanced by some statements admitting the justice of the U.S. case -- from the Singapore-Malay press, and the faithful ambivalence of the Japanese press which is typified by the following statement taken from Mainichi, Japan's number two paper: "It is regrettable that President Kennedy has not unconditionally accepted U Thant's proposal but, at the same time, we are able to understand the American position".

### Support

Editorial statements of support from Far East allies of the West have slacked off, but non-media reactions from official sources in these countries indicated no flagging in the backing previously given the U.S. action.

There is even some implied understanding of the U.S. position by neutral Burma, which has significantly failed to repeat the criticism so voluminous at the time of the abortive Bay of Pigs invasion.

Communist China: Peking's official news agency, NCNA, has transmitted a summary of Khrushchev's reply telegram to British philosopher Bertrand Russell. The report quotes extensively from the Khrushchev message, including his proposal for a top-level meeting and his assurances that no reckless decision will be taken.

## NEAR EAST AND SOUTH ASIA

Relief has been evident in the press of several countries in the Near East and South Asia that the two giant protagonists in the Cuban developments had not yet come to blows. Some have urged that a solution be found in the U.N. and that the uncommitted nations play a role in the situation. Arab media have also been pressing for evacuation of all military bases. The basic alignment remains the same: most criticism coming out of South Asia and the Arab countries, most support emanating from NATO allies Greece and Turkey, from Israel and the Christian elements in Lebanon. Recent editorials in Iran also have supported the U.S.

### Arab States and Israel

UAR's President Nasser and his press and public following in the Arab World have continued to push their nonalignment program of world nuclear disarmament and liquidation of all foreign military bases. Nasser's opposition in Syria, Jordan and Saudi Arabia has been holding comment down to a minimum. Iraq, which has been strongly anti-U.S. since the Kuwait incident, has been championing the Soviet line. Lebanon and Israel have largely supported the U.S. move--occasionally with enthusiasm.

The official line is being stressed in UAR media, i. e., the solution lies in the UN and must include neutralization of Cuba and the liquidation of both the Soviet missile base and the U.S. base at Guantanamo. President Nasser has been pressing his contacts in the Afro-Asian countries, the non-aligned groups and the Casablanca powers to urge such a solution.

A pro-Western Lebanese daily has pointed out that, while Cuba has the right to convert itself into a huge military base, it was not acting as a free agent and had no right to expose the American continent to the Communist danger. Kennedy had to take his position today rather than tomorrow, independent and influential Al-Jarida said. Other papers drew parallels between Cuba on the one hand and Finland and Hungary on the other, suggested that the U.S. had won in the war of nerves against the Soviets, and that this was the "first free world victory since World War II."

The official Syrian position of neutrality and "non-interference" has been made known, and the republican Yemeni Premier, General Sallal, has commented (according to TASS) that "the events in Cuba teach us how the imperialists, past masters in provocations, are creating new centers of tension."

### South Asia

The Cuban developments continue to be given secondary play to the Sino-Indian border conflict in the Indian press.

Two Indian papers, the Indian Express and the Economic Times, expressed satisfaction that a "breathing-space" has occurred, but noted also that the basic problems and dangers still remain. The solution recommended by one of these papers, the Indian Express, was first, to remove Cuban fears of American military action by some kind of guarantee, and second to remove the rocket bases. The Times of India hoped that Moscow would not miscalculate Washington's determination to enforce the blockade and that the USSR would avert disaster by ordering its ships to change course. The Times also thought that President Kennedy might have become reconciled to coexistence with the Castro regime if the Soviet Union had not established missile bases in Cuba. While evidence is inconclusive, there is some indication that Indian papers are giving greater credence to the existence of the missile bases and to the real fears they have aroused in the United States.

The first reaction received from Ceylon indicates the press is deeply concerned, judging by its emotional presentation of the news. The Daily News editorialized that Cuba was forced inexorably into Russian hands by US economic sanctions and that the only salvation for humanity from the "ghastly consequences of atomic Armageddon" is through the efforts of the United Nations and uncommitted nations. No official comment has yet been made.

Headlines in Karachi papers stress the glimmer of hope in news of U Thant's appeal, a possible summit meeting, and Soviet ship turnbacks.

In two public speeches Prime Minister Nehru referred to the grave situation in Cuba which has brought the world to the brink of war.

## Non-Arab Middle East

Editorialists in Greece, Turkey, Cyprus and Iran expressed approval of U.S. action and firmness. One paper in Iran (Post-e-Tehran) justified American action on the grounds that Cuba had become the "ammunition dump" for the U.S.S.R. Optimism that there would be no World War III continued to be expressed in the press of Turkey, Greece and Iran, the principal observation being that both sides had too much to lose by unleashing an all-out nuclear war. Other observations made were that both leaders were men with good judgment or that previous Soviet-Western crises had been resolved without a world war.

Most papers suggested the United Nations as the logical place to settle the dispute, Istanbul's Tasvir predicting that the UN would support the United States. Istanbul's Milliyet, however, called for a summit meeting. While Yeni Istanbul predicted that the winner in this crisis would be he who "has the determination and power to stand up against threats," several Iranian papers warned that this crisis involves the prestige of both "goliaths."

Son Posta (Istanbul) anticipated that the Soviet Union would take some sort of retaliatory action against Turkey. Iran's Ettela'at pointed out, however, that Cuba should be compared to Finland rather than Turkey: "Russians tolerate US missile bases in Turkey but would they also tolerate even the accession to power of an anti-Russian President in Finland?"

A few papers, one in Turkey and one in Greece, discussed Castro in derogatory terms, the Athens Akropolis calling him a "maniac" and "small Hitler." Athens' Kathimerini, after praising President Kennedy for his bold decision, attributed the successful "showdown" to the contribution made by the whole Western world in faithfully standing at the side of the US "in each minute of this critical venture."

## AFRICA

As during the past three days, African media comment continues to be opposed to American action regarding Cuba. It consistently fails to make any distinction between Soviet missiles in Cuba and American ones around the Soviet Union. There is no tie-in with Berlin. Majority opinion continues to insist that the U.S. is trying to crush "little Cuba," thereby implying that the crisis is between the U.S. and Cuba, rather than between the U.S. and the USSR. The first Communist-inspired small-scale demonstrations have occurred. The only publicly stated support for the U.S. comes from the President of Liberia. There is increasing insistence on the need for UN action.

Limited editorial opinion continues to come from the same dozen African countries, with large parts of Africa, particularly French-speaking sub-Saharan areas, unreported.

Editorial comment and news play of world reaction continues predominantly critical of U.S. actions, although it is likely that official opinion in many quarters, as yet largely unknown, is less unfriendly.

Government-controlled papers in Mali and the Somali Republic have carried world press reactions entirely unfriendly to the U.S. Radio Mali on October 23 was more objective but omitted mention of the Soviet missiles in Cuba.

The Political Bureau of the (Algerian) National Liberation Front (not a government agency) in an October 24 communique related "aggression against Cuba" to efforts to crush independence movements elsewhere. The government-run radio in Senegal the same day stated that Cuba has a right to its own form of government and that the U.S. is wrongly determined "to maintain domination in a region that has always been its preserve."

Editorials in the four leading papers in Nigeria range from a "plague on both your houses" to support for the Soviet position. The Morning Post (federal government) has blamed both Washington and Moscow and stated its opposition to Soviet missiles in Cuba and to U.S. missile sites around the Soviet Union. The West African Pilot (representing one wing of a leading political party) termed the blockade an "illegal piratical measure," equated Cuban with Turkish bases, and blamed

"saber-rattling Senators" and the election campaign. The Pilot also carried two feature articles praising the Soviet Union and vilifying the U.S.

The European-owned East African Standard in Kenya stated that the Cuban and Sino-Indian situations were due to communist aggression and that the lesson of non-aligned India is that Communists do not respect non-alignment. The Standard then equated missiles in Cuba with missiles around the Soviet Union and hoped the current crisis would push the two principals toward disarmament.

Representations or demonstrations initiated by Communist sympathizers have occurred in South Africa, and Nigeria. In London, the Communist-infected Committee of African Organizations, claiming to represent African students in the U.K. issued a statement condemning the "barbaric blockade" and supporting Cuba in her "blackest hour."

President Tubman of Liberia publicly stated that the U.S. is justified in its blockade action. The secretariat of the Union of African and Malagasy States, comprising the more pro-Western French-speaking states of tropical Africa, has cabled both Washington and Moscow urging negotiations.



## SOVIET UNION

Soviet media continue to reflect a stalling for time as they keep up their campaign against the U.S. quarantine and any prospective U.S. actions regarding Cuba. Soviet media attention to the Cuban crisis is now becoming heavier, as a certain set of arguments is being repeated over and over again for different audiences. Reports of protest meetings in the USSR and abroad are currently a prominent propaganda feature, while news bulletins deal almost exclusively with items related to Cuba. The tenor of Soviet output is vigorous as Moscow projects its own image of reasonableness.

Moscow mixes ominous and reassuring tones as it seeks to stress that the alleged "reckless, irresponsible" U.S. policy is bringing the world to the brink of nuclear disaster while underlining Soviet resolve to maintain the peace.

Without committing themselves firmly to Cuba beyond general expressions of sympathy, Soviet media increasingly maintain that "Cuba is not alone," that it has popular worldwide support, including that of Latin Americans.

Most of Moscow's ominous tones surround the issue of the quarantine, which can be expected to remain one of the primary targets of Soviet propaganda attacks. Typical is a Red Star charge that it is an "overt act of international gangsterism with which nobody who cherishes peace can put up." Moscow has warned that a nuclear war could conceivably break out if the U.S. "carries out its threat to sink ships of other countries which do not obey the orders of the American pirates." A hint as to a probable propaganda stress was made by Pravda: "Too much is at stake as a result of the piratic actions of the American military on the high seas and the flouting of international law by the U.S. government. National sovereignty, the independence of states, and peace and security throughout the world are in danger. No one can agree to such a state of affairs. The conscience and honor of all mankind rebel against this danger." Yet Moscow, avoiding the fact that Soviet ships are on the way to Cuba and that one has been allowed to proceed, increasingly reports (particularly for domestic consumption) that "peaceful cargoes" are being sent to Cuba.

Also gaining prominence in both domestic and foreign output are Soviet denials that the USSR has supplied "offensive" weapons to

Cuba, denials which are carefully hedged. At home, Moscow has sought to impress its people that the USSR's "powerful rockets" obviate the need for missile sites abroad. This point, however, is avoided in foreign output, judging from available propaganda, which primarily condemns the U.S. charge as a "lie," lacking evidence, and propagated to give the U.S. a pretext for unleashing aggression against Cuba.

## EUROPEAN SATELLITES

Satellite media have continued their broad coverage of Cuban developments, but have maintained the atmosphere of caution which has characterized their output since the beginning of the crisis. Public rallies in support of Cuba as well as statements of protest against U.S. actions have been reported. On the other hand, reports from several Satellite countries indicate that news of the crisis has led to an outbreak of panic buying. While the Polish government took anticipatory measures to blunt the effect of scare buying, the Czech authorities appear to have been taken by surprise by the rush on the stores.

POLAND                      The Polish Government statement on Cuba as broadcast in English to Europe and, on the other hand, in Polish to the home audience on the same day provides an example of the apparently different handling of external and domestic propaganda which seems characteristic of the Bloc output at this stage of the Cuban affair. Thus the domestic broadcast, on October 25, appears to have omitted the following parts of the English-language broadcast: (a) a mention of "the April 1961 invasion of Cuba" as proof of U.S. aims to impose its will on a nation that has chosen its own road of development; (b) the description of the blockade as "another glaring violation" of the principle of non-intervention; (c) the mention of the "U.S. military base in Cuba" and the present "considerable reinforcing of its garrison" and the conclusion that, as is "obvious to everyone," Cuba does not constitute any danger to the U.S. and its armed forces serve for defense only. "The existence of such forces became necessary precisely because of the aggressive moves by the U.S." The domestic broadcast also

omitted a number of sentences charging that the U.S. intentionally tries to increase international tension and to prevent the peaceful settlement of differences, and that this is a retreat to the policy of acting from "a position of strength" and brinkmanship.

This tendency to keep the people calm had also been noted in the absence of a march on the U.S. Embassy, such as had resulted in riots on a previous occasion, and the authorities' preparedness to deal with scare-buying which reportedly began in Warsaw on October 25. Nevertheless, protest meetings and rallies under the slogan "Hands off Cuba!" were held in Poland just as they were throughout the Bloc.

**HUNGARY** In addition to the Hungarian Government statement, Budapest media carried Premier Kadar's personal expression of views on the issue -- the first such personal pronouncement known to have been published in the Satellite area. It was given in an interview asked for by two staff members of the Cuban paper, Revolucion, now in Budapest. (The paper had obtained Kadar's views on previous occasions.) Apart from assuming the expected position about U.S. violations of international law, aggressiveness, "spirit of tyranny," etc. he was specifically asked to opine on the similarity of the U.S. role vis-a-vis the Cuban revolution and the 1956 Hungarian "counter-revolution." He explained that the U.S. supported the Hungarian counterrevolution for the same reasons that make it want to destroy the Cuban revolution -- because it fears "the spread of the great idea of independence and social progress." However, the Hungarians "with the help of the Soviet Union" frustrated the U.S. attempt. Kadar did not go so far as to say explicitly that "Cuba, too, will frustrate U.S. attempts "with Soviet help," but the implication seems clear.

As for demonstrations in Budapest, one by several hundred youths was reported in the press on October 25.

**CZECHOSLOVAKIA** The Czechoslovak agency CTK reports that the Foreign Affairs Committee of the National Assembly has declared that the United States "should be forced to change its aggressive course and cancel the illegal measures which are an imminent peril to peace."

In the meantime, as reported in the New York Times, a violent organized anti-American demonstration took place in front of our Embassy in Prague. An American flag over the entrance to the Embassy was torn down and four windows were broken.

In Prague, news of the crisis combined with the belligerent official government statement to set off a food buying panic. This new internal crisis may eventually force the government to adopt a more moderate tone in domestic propaganda.

The content of Czechoslovak propaganda seems to be concentrating less now on the "threat" to Cuban independence than on lifting the blockade, which according to the official statement of the Czechoslovak government "constitutes violation of the freedom of the high seas" and might eventually "lead to international conflict."

**EAST GERMANY** Official reaction continues to be cautious and moderate in tone. In reporting last night's U.N. Security Council meeting, ADN (the official East German news agency) followed closely Soviet delegate Zorin's cue and branded the data, presented by Mr. Stevenson on Soviet offensive weapons in Cuba, as "fabricated stories." President Kennedy's answer to U.N. Acting Secretary General U Thant, on the other hand, was termed as "non-committal." ADN also inferred from the U.S. official statement on the continuation of the blockade of Cuba that the White House "is not prepared to accept" U Thant's proposals.

While the Soviet zone -- and for that matter the entire Soviet Bloc -- has been showing extreme caution on new pledges for "socialist solidarity" with Cuba and on saber-rattling, Cuban Communist Party leader Blas Roca made several vituperative speeches in East Berlin. He did not miss an opportunity to associate Cuba with the Soviet Bloc in general, and with the USSR in particular, with whose help, he said, Cuba "will defeat the blockade." He also asserted that Cuba has been receiving Soviet arms; as to future deliveries of such arms, Blas Roca said that "I think we shall continue to receive them, and we intend to continue to arm ourselves."

## BULGARIA

Radio Sofia "informed" listeners that the United States had welcomed Khrushchev's acceptance of U Thant's proposals for easing the tension over Cuba but pointed out that President Kennedy's answer to the Acting Secretary General "radically" differed from Khrushchev's. Nothing was said about Mr. Stevenson's accusations against Soviet deployment of intermediate range ballistic missiles in Cuba. Radio Sofia merely said that the American delegate to the United Nations had advanced the condition that "all offensive weapons" be withdrawn from Cuba. In its report Radio Sofia carefully avoided epithets and abusive language.

## ALBANIA

The Albanian Government declaration of October 25 -- as broadcast domestically -- does not mince words in expressing its "disgust and indignation" against "American imperialism" which, it predicts, will never fulfill its "devilish" intentions against the "heroic" Cuban people. But, unlike the other Satellite statements, the Albanian one omits any mention of the Soviets. It assures Cuba only of the support of "the socialist camp, the Latin-American peoples, and all the anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces in the world."

A radio commentary of October 24 and an article in the Party organ Zeri i Popullit of October 25 do not mitigate the vulgar tone of Albanian polemics. The radio mentioned, among other things, that the U.S. maintains 700 aggressive military bases around the world, while the Party organ held up Cuba as "an example for all the other peoples of Latin America of how to break the shackles of imperialist slavery."

## YUGOSLAVIA

Yugoslav media continue to stress hope that the Cuban crisis will be solved with negotiations, not with rockets. They also express Yugoslavia's satisfaction with the initiative of U.N. Secretary General U Thant calling for a three-week suspension both on Soviet arms shipments and on the blockade. Belgrade sources also quoted the Yugoslav correspondent in Moscow as speculating that "the worst will not take place."